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In **HISTCUL**

Tawong Dalongdongan:

Amulets and Talismans in Panay

Religio-Cultural Tradition

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Introduction

Background of the Study

The proponent had recently visited the *Museo ng Katipunan* which was close in proximity from his home in San Juan. Primary documents, antique armaments, and valuables of the KKK scattered along the limited spaces that were still available for viewing during the initial construction. However, no matter how interesting these may be, it was not these objects that caught the eye of the proponent but rather a displayed undershirt unlike any other. It was covered in Christian imagery such as the images of Crucified Christ, the Cherubim, and the Seven Archangels and was also covered in Pig Latin inscriptions locally referred to as *oraciones*. It also featured Masonic imagery such as the *Eye of the Providence* or the Eye of God. It was clear at the very first glance what it was: an *agimat* shirt worn by the Katipuneros either to boost their physical strength in battle or act as a supernatural bullet-proof vest from the Spanish rifles.

A few months prior to this event, a comrade of the proponent relates the lineage of his ancestors that hails from Batangas, which were rumored to part of a lineage of shamans or *babaylan* possessing supernatural powers. One such *babaylan* never needed to carry with her an umbrella for not a single drop of rain ever touched her skin, and another possessing the ability of foresight that enabled him and his family to escape Japanese forces during the Second World War. The proponent's companion also claims that there exists a codex of *oraciones* handwritten by one of his *babaylan* ancestors which is currently under the possession of a branch family. He further hints that the contents of the family codex is similar to the contents of the mystical text *Karunungan ng Diyos* by Melencio Sabino.

Regardless if one should believe that a shirt laden with religious imagery would shield one from bullets or if people truly possess supernatural powers, it is clear that the Spanish failed to suppress the pre-colonial belief in magic, anting-anting, and babaylan. However given the evident Christian symbolisms of the two accounts (i.e. oraciones) Christianity, instead of suppressing the local faith, amalgamated with pre-colonial animism to form the notion of a *Folk-Catholic* system. Indeed, one only needs to visit one of the stalls outside of Quiapo Church to see the evidence of this system.

Given that the Spaniards colonized the Islands for more than three hundred years, is it possible still to reconstruct the old magic system? In the former colonial areas of Luzon, it may be nearly impossible however, Visayas is another matter. Ironically, even though the Bisayans were the first to be colonized and converted to the Catholic faith it is from them where the reconstruction of the pre-colonial magic system is possible especially with the emergence of the Panay-Bukidnon in the spotlight, an indigenous group inhabiting the central mountains of the Panay Island and were unconquered by either Spanish or American colonizers. The discovery and transcription of their epic songs which almost remained untouched by Christian imagery contains the setting and life of their pre-colonial ancestors, as well as their belief in the magical and supernatural. It should also be noted that their lowland neighbors as well as other neighboring islands which share a common or parallel culture such as Negros, Mindoro, and Bicol preserved tales of superhumans and magicians that may complement the epics of the Panay-Bukidnon in the reconstruction of the old magic system of the Bisayans.

Statement of the Problem

The proponent will provide a comprehensive study on the belief in magic in Visayan folkloric and epic traditions. The proponent aims to answer the following questions:

1. What is Magic?
 - 1.1. How is it portrayed in Panay epic tradition?
 - 1.2. How is it portrayed in Panay folkloric tradition?
2. How can one acquire magical abilities?
 - 2.1. What are the talismans utilized by the Bisayans?
 - 2.1.1. How are they acquired?
 - 2.1.2. When can they be acquired?
 - 2.1.3. What are their applications?
 - 2.2. What is the significance of engkantos and diwatas in the magic system?
3. Who are the recipients of these abilities?

Objective of the Study

The study aims to accomplish the following:

1. To gather various epic poems and folkloric tales limited to the Panay island.
2. To investigate the concept of magic in Panay.
3. To provide a plausible reconstruction of the magic system practiced in pre-colonial Filipino, or Visayan, society.

Scope and Limitation

The proponent will utilize various epic poems and folklore available within Panay island. The paper will give more emphasis on those available to the Panay-Bukidnon, the mountain people of Central Panay, due to its geographical isolation from its far more Christianized neighbors on the flatlands. Nevertheless, the proponent will also gather information regarding the animistic elements of the Panay-Hiligaynon's Folk Catholic religion in comparison with that of the Panay-Bukidnon's Folk Catholicism.

The proponent will utilize the epic poems of the Panay-Bukidnon that are available in print at the moment. These include F. Landa Jocano's *Epic of Labaw Donggon* and *Hinilawod: Adventures of Humadapnon*; fragments of Gina Barte's *Story of Humadapnon* as recorded in Corazon Villareal's *Siday: Mga Tulang Bayan ng Panay at Negros*; seven out of ten books of Alicia Magos' *Sugidanon: Epics of Panay* published in the following order: *Tikum Kadlum*, *Amburukay*, *Derikaryong Pada*, *Pahagunong*, *Kalampay*, *Sinagnayan*, and *Balanakon*.

The proponent will also utilize past anthropological-ethnographic studies conducted within the regions of interest which could shed light on the topic of interest, as well as scattered folklore recorded in various places about various people during the colonial era who were rumored to possess supernatural abilities.

Significance of the Study

Prior to the discovery of various epic traditions such as those within Panay Island, the anting-anting had always been imagined and reimagined within Christian and Mystical elements often in the form of oracion and amulets in the shape of saints or the mysterious triangular figure

of the *Infinitio Dios*; the latter being an omnipresent symbol within Rizalist-breached areas. Even tales of supernatural men never delved deeper on the inner machinations of their supernatural powers except for simple and often vague praises such as *he or she possessed a powerful amulet*. The discovery of the Panay epics, or at least the ethnological studies conducted to the people who chanted such epics, provided insights on magic that holds little to no foreign elements. This provides significant insights not only on Folk-Catholic traditions of contemporary Panay but could also provide insights of the reconstruction of pre-colonial views of magic that might even be older than Miguel de Loarca's account.

Magic System

Anting-anting

The concept of magic within the Pan-Bisaya regions can be summarized as the utilization of charms, amulets, and talismans, most of which are made from natural resources with supernatural properties such as flora - medical herbs, betel nuts, coconut oil - and fauna - cat bones, bird eggs, and other materials. These amulets or talismans often are limited to one blessing or power, although rare ones such as the *pamlang* and the *tigadlom* may offer two or more powers to their owners. The introduction of Christianity had gradually intertwined with, but not limited to, the Pan-Bisayas' belief in magic. For one, it is often attested that the best time to acquire an *agimat* or *anting-anting* is during the Lenten Season or Good Friday,¹ the commemoration of Christ's crucifixion and death on the cross. Another Catholic influence is the prominence of the *oraciones* talismans, sheets of paper containing Pig Latin inscriptions believed to protect its wielder from harm.

Amulets and talismans are often differentiated and are distinguished from one another especially on the Waray regions (i.e. Samar and Leyte).² Amulets are charms of protection against malignant influences and forces such as *kulam*, *barang*, *aswang*, and may also include protection from thieves. Scapulars within the context of Folk-Catholicism may be included in this category since it is a common folk belief that those who wear it are protected from the fires of hell. Talismans on the other hand are charms of personal advantage which provides

¹ Ma. Milagros G. Lachica, "Tan Osting Baladjay: The Busalian." *Maaram: Studies on Antique* (2003): 30.

² Richard Arens, *Folk Practices and Beliefs of Leyte and Samar*, (Tacloban City: Divine Word University Publications, 1982), 107-108.

supernatural help to its wielder to make his way of life easier such as gambling, courting, and working.

Although these terms were not taken from Panay sources, it is possible that these concepts exist within the context of Folk Panay thought due to the increasing Religio-Cultural ideas shared by the two regions. If these concepts are utilized in the context of Panay, then it is safe to assume that most if not all of the verifiable anting-anting in this region, as will be evidenced later, would fall under the category of talisman.

Not all anting-anting are equal in terms of power and ability; some charms are stronger than others. For example in the ELD, the hero Labaw Donggon's charm shattered when it went against the antagonist Saragnayan's own charm. There are also cases when a stronger charm can negate the effects of a weaker charm. One such example appears again in the ELD when Saragnayan places a charm of invisibility on the hero's boat upon his defeat; when the sons of the hero got near the invisible boat, their stronger charm of invisibility negated the charm of Saragnayan thus rendering the boat visible once more.

Supermen

Possessors these charms and amulets are called by different names and may have unique quirks and abilities although function still remains the same. The most common term to denote these people of supernatural powers are *busalian*, *dalongdongan*, *dalagangan*.³ The busalian's unique ability is to produce water from rocks simply by tapping it with a spear, a feat uncannily similar to that of Moses in the Old Testament.

³ Alicia Magos, *The Enduring Ma-aram Tradition: An Ethnography of a Kinaray-a Village in Antique*, (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1992), 59.

The dalongdongan's special ability is to protect themselves from bodily harm by rubbing their bodies with magical oil; interestingly, the aswangs and the mananaggals would then be placed under this second category of supermen since it is widely attested that their powers of shapeshift are through the rubbing of oil within their bodies.⁴ The dalagangan' special ability is to be able to travel great distances in a single leap.

Babaylan priest/esses are regarded as a busalian or dalongdongan although being a babaylan is not necessarily or requirement to be a person of supernatural power; the main difference between the two is that the former consists of a selected few⁵ with ritualistic functions while the latter may apply to any member of the society. In the Panay region, many folk-heroes and characters from folklore and epic traditions are attested to be busalians and dalongdongans.

Datu Sumakwel of the Maragtas tradition was attested to possess a talisman that enables him to reach great distances under a single leap; in one such occasion the datu fell hard on his bottom but instead of dying, he simply left a butt print as landmark of the incident that the old folks regard as sacred.⁶ Most, if not all, of the major figures of the vast epic tradition of Panay possess at least one anting-anting within their arsenal of weapons. Buyong Baranugon, the son of the hero Labaw Donggon, is attested to have at least four charms in the duration of the epic: the staple *pamlang* charm, a charm of invisibility (*tigadlom*), a magic ball of surveillance, and a charm of sleep (*turug-turug*). Furthermore as evidenced within the epic traditions, the title of busalian and dalongdongan are not limited to humans and may also be applied to supernatural

⁴ F. Landa Jocano, *The Hiligaynons: An Ethnography of Family and Community Life in Western Bisayan Region*, (Quezon City: Asian Center, 1983), 250.

⁵ Ibid., 267.

⁶ This would place Datu Sumakuwel under the dalagangan group.

creatures such as *ibabawnon* (celestial spirits/deities), *dutan-on* (earthly spirits), and *idadalmunon* (underworld spirits). Alunsina, the ruler of the celestial goddesses, gave the charm of sleep to Baranugon on the ELD and her Sugidanon counterpart, Laonsina, possesses a charm that she uses to resurrect the dead and summon lightning strikes. Saragnayan, the main antagonist of the ELD, the *muwa*, a dark giant comparable to the *kapre*, also possessed a charm which he uses against Labaw Donggon and his sons.

Women are as prominent as men in possessing charms within the epic traditions although a shift of gender roles upon the arrival of the Spanish may have limited the belief that women can also be busalians. Old folks attest that busalian women are a rarity and it is often males who become one. One such exception was *Estrella Bangotbanwa*, a historical babaylan during the early phase of Philippine colonization. It is said that she had abilities to call upon rain and according to popular legends, turned a Spanish priest into stone after the latter insulted and distracted her from a rain-calling ritual.⁷

During the first two colonial eras, the busalian had a drastic change of role and became salvation figures from colonial oppression. This of course includes the infamous rebellions orchestrated by charismatic millenarian leaders in Negros such as *Dios Buhawi* and *Papa Isio*.⁸ During the same period, a smaller rebellion was also instigated in Panay by a busalian called *Tan Osting*. In one of his many folk tales, he was able to defeat a group of Spanish troops by magically turning matches into his personal armed troops.⁹ Even though these rebellions would

⁷ Ma. Milagros G. Lachica, "Tan Osting Baladjay: The Busalian," 31. See also Alicia Magos, *The Enduring Maaram Tradition*, 33-35.

⁸ Earl Jude Paul L. Cleope, "The Negros Millenarian Movements," *Siliman Journal* 41 no. 2 (2000): 61- 81.

⁹ Ma. Milagros G. Lachica, "Tan Osting Baladjay: The Busalian," 28.

eventually be quelled, the tales of these superhumans persisted and may continue to persist within the Pan-Bisayan regions.

It is possible to increase the potency or power of a busalian's charms by befriending spirits that are either called *sinagod*, *tamawo*, *hinumptayan*, *ginhugam-nan*, *saragudon*, or *haraywon*. It is said that the more spirit friends a busalian have, the more powerful he is against his fellow busalian adversaries. Observe the following stanza from the *Balanakon* episode of the Sugidanon:

Ligbok (Old Kiniray-a)	English
Taruhati ko Taghoy Katuyaw kong duhindi Pitik kong hunong-hunong Kon nagahuruwang sa lawas Gasurog sa tubu-an Pagsilabuy lalanahan Sura paramiyakan Gabihagon ko dag-on Ada gadalumi-on Si Buyong Sarandihon Buyong si Magkadulon Kabus kabus lay baba Sinilaboy lalanhan. ¹⁰	My powerful helper Taghoy My helpful aide duwende All my ancestral spirits If you are supportive of me If you are aiding me Make my magical oil rise Make my oil container bubble If I can defeat If I can win over Buyong Sarandihon And Buyong Magkadulon He has hardly finished uttering When the oil in the container rises.

There are several taboos that must be avoided by anting-anting wielders or else their powers would prove ineffective, although if it applies to all or specific anting-anting is not

¹⁰ Federico "Tuahon" Caballero, *Sugidanon (epics) of Panay: Balanakon (Book 7)*, isinalin ni Alicia P. Magos, (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 2014), 74-75.

identified. Some of these taboos are (1) bathing and sleeping during daytime on Tuesdays and Wednesdays and (2) abuse of women.¹¹

Anting-Anting of Panay

Pamlang

The Panay epic tradition features an anting-anting locally known as *pamlang*, *dalongdong*, or *lalanhan*, a talisman of sorts made from a concoction consisting of medical herbs and roots, which is referred to as *parangyaka* and placed on a small bottle or vial that is implied to be worn like a necklace.¹² An alternative ingredient would be the oil of a lone coconut fruit facing the east. The lone coconut is symbolic of endurance and strength being able to withstand the forces of nature and the eastern direction is symbolical as the source of knowledge.¹³

Other than the concoction inside, another source of power for the *pamlang* is a strong connectivity with diwatas and ancestral spirits; the more spirit friends a wielder possess, the powerful he/she is. It is also considered taboo to show the charm to anyone, and failure to follow would result to its permanent ineffectiveness.

By function it is a talisman and it enables its wielder a plethora of abilities if the wielder requested or prayed to it, a wish granting device similar to genie's lamp to put it mindly. In the Sugidanon tradition, battle scenes are portrayed as having a physical aspect (clashing of swords,

¹¹ Ma. Milagros G. Lachica, "Tan Osting Baladjay: The Busalian," 34.

¹² F. Landa Jocano, *The epic of Labaw Donggon*, chanted by Ulang Udig, (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines, 1965), lines 760-763.

¹³ Federico "Tuahon" Caballero, *Sugidanon (epics) of Panay: Pahagunong (Book 4)*, isinalin ni Alicia P. Magos, (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 2014), 165.

spears, and other conventional weapons) and a magical aspect (clashing of pamlangs). The latter would consist of each fighter taking turns conjuring spells and negating their opponent's spells. In one such battle, the hero Labaw Donggon loses his life (only to regain it later) when he couldn't conjure a counter-spell to his opponent Sarandihon's heavenly fire. Pamlang applications are vast in the Panay epics such as:

Elemental Manipulation. The magical battle mentioned above occurs solely in the Sugidanon epics. It is formulaic and consists of, but not limited to, the following abilities:

1. Celestial Manipulation - the ability to control the movements of the celestial bodies such as the sun and the moon and, in the process, affect the transition of day and night. Take for example the following lines from the Balanakon epic that depicts the battle between the heroes Sarandihon and Balanakon:

Ligbok (Old Kiniray-a)	English
Hindon manibo-tibo Si Buyong Sarandihon, “Suyon-suyon pay pamlang Ka tuod pay dalungdong Hadin marin pay awayan Kong dulong kunina pang gab-i Hindun gani pagdulma...”	He murmurs magical words Buyong Sarandihon, “Wherever you are, my power Indeed you are true Wherever the fighting reaches Let darkness come Let it be evening now...”
Hay naga udungay adlaw Naga udtoy kurawon Nahimong tungang madalon Namhang tungang gab-i... ¹⁴	The sun is at its zenith The noonday star is up But suddenly turns into midnight Darkness comes...

Balanakon replies back:

¹⁴ Federico Caballero, *Balanakon*, 94-95.

Ligbok (Old Kiniray-a)	English
“Pag-asunod kang dulom Pag-antad kang gab-i Awayan ka may dulom Kunina pay gab-i... Pamusi-agay banwa Painitay dinun-an.” Kuon si Balanakon Minusi-ag pay banwa Ininit pay dinun-an. ¹⁵	“Leave, darkness Retreat, evening I’ll fight you, darkness I’ll resist you, evening... Let the sun shine Let the world brighten.” Says Balanakon The village brightens The sun shines.

2. Aerokinesis - the ability to control the wind. Refer to the following lines of the same epic:

Ligbok (Old Kiniray-a)	English
Hindun manibo-tibo Si Sarandihon Kayun-on... “Hadin marin pay awayan Kung hangin pang kunina Hugayong hangin kat unos unos Adat tarataguda-ot Salapaya sa bonbon Hapita sa buhawi Si Buyong Balanakon...” Kabus-kabus lay baba Baway inaso-aso. ¹⁶	He utters magical prayers Sarandihon Kayun-on... “Wherever you are, my powers My fighting power, the wind The strong blowing wind The very strong wind Carry them from the sandy shore Take them with you Buyong Balanakon...” He has just finished speaking When the village becomes smoky.

¹⁵ Ibid., 95.

¹⁶ Ibid., 96-97.

3. Hydrokinesis - the ability to control water, such as the calling of rain or flood.

Refer again to the following lines from the same epic:

Ligbok (Old Kiniray-a)	English
<p>“Awayan kong baha Kunina pang daludo Dang gina sibu-ay lawdon Ginasukpay layagon Tatlong luok sa lawdon Sanliput sa layagon Salapaya sa bonbon... ...Si Buyong Balanakon.”</p> <p>Kabus kabus lay baba Hugiwang kat gindunggan Wara kat ginbatin-an Inindakal ka tubig Ada pa ka inmilig Darwang liput sa lawdon San luok sa lagayon.¹⁷</p>	<p>“I’ll fight the flood The strong murky current Let the sea rise Let it cover the sea lane Make it cover three bends of the sea One bend towards the shore Pick them up the sea lane... Buyong Balanakon.”</p> <p>He has just said it When nothing can be heard Not a sound can be harkened But the rushing waters The running waters Two bends toward the deep sea One bend toward the seashore.</p>

4. Zookinesis - the ability to call forth animals for aid. Refer again to the following lines from the same epic:

Ligbok (Old Kiniray-a)	English
<p>Si Buyong Sarandihon, “Hadin marin pay awayan Kong ptyukan napulo ka tarangnan Gatos milyon ka huruwangan Hindun gani pag putsa Ada pag sagiputa Say Buyong Balanakon...”</p> <p>Kabus kabus lay baba</p>	<p>Buyong Sarandihon Wherever you are, my fighting bees Ten beehives’ worth Hundreds, millions of bees Come over Come and surround Buyong Balanakon...”</p> <p>He has just said it</p>

¹⁷ Ibid., 98-100.

Banway dinulom-dulom Kunina ka putyukan Napulo ka tangnan Gatos milyon ka huruwangan. ¹⁸	When the village darkens The bees arrive Ten beehives strong Hundreds, millions of bees.
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5. Pyrokinesis - the ability to control fire. Refer again to the following lines from the same epic:

Ligbok (Old Kiniray-a)	English
Hindun manibo-tino Si Buyong Sarandihon “Hadin marin pay awayan Kong kapuy kunina pang kalayo Dang tatlong luok sa lawdon... Hindun gani pag-putsa Ada pag sagiputa Say Buyong Balanakon.”	He utters some magical words Buyong Sarandihon, “Wherever you are now, my power My fighting fire Cover the three bends of the sea... Let them be covered Let them be surrounded Buyong Balanakon.”
Kabus kabus lay baba Huwigan kat gindunggan Wara katginbatin-an Inindakal ka kapoy Ada pa ka kalayo. ¹⁹	He has just said it When nothing can be heard Not a sound can be harkened But the sound of burning fire The noise of glowing fire.

In the Pahagunong epic, there is also an instance of elektrokinesis, the ability to control lightning. Within context, the goddess Laonsina hurls a lightning strike at a cursed Labaw Donggon, who was metamorphosed in turtle form, to revert him back to his original human form.

¹⁸ Ibid., 102-103.

¹⁹ Ibid., 105-106.

Creation ex Nihilo. In the ELD, this power is displayed when Labaw Donggon prayed to his pamlang for the creation of a majestic house as dowry to his marriage to the maiden Ginbitinan. It was never mentioned how the house was built only that it simply appeared, implying that it was made out of nothing. Refer to the following lines:

Kiniray-a	English
Makuun si Labaw Donggon, “Huyung huyung kaw ka pamlang Matuud ka busali Tindog anay balay nga kinumbuan Napulu ka kinumbu Gatus guwang guwang Aliali nga langbon Sumadang nga lilingdon.” ²⁰	Labaw Donggon said, “I call upon you, pamlang Lend me your power great Let a very big house stand here A house with ten roof-tops And a hundred doors A beautiful house indeed An excellent swelling place.”

Telekinesis. This power is displayed two times in the ELD. First, Saragnayan breaks the pamlang of Labaw Donggon by simply ordering his own pamlang to do so. Also in the rescue episode, after Labaw Donggon was imprisoned, Aso Mangga called upon his pamlang to fling the jail bars to the sea to free his father. The following lines refer to the rescue episode:

Kiniray-a	English
Makuun ni Asu Mangga, “Huyung huyung ka pamlang Matuud ka busali Rubinta anay arihas nga salsalon Magparangapok sa kalalawdon Maguwa a ginikanan.”	Asu Mangga said, “I call upon you, O pamlang Lend me your power great Let the iron bars collapse Scatter to the sea So our father can get out.”

²⁰ F. Landa Jocano, *The epic of Labaw Donggon*, 54.

Natapos sa baba Ni Buyung Asu Mangga Rubinta a salsalon Nagtarabog sa kalalawdan. ²¹	And hardly these words left The mouth of Buyung Asu Mangga When the iron bars broke; It's fragments flying to the sea.
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In the *Amburukay* episode of the Sugidanon, the muwa Amburukay called upon her pamlang to move Labaw Donggon's house to her cave for their supposed marriage ceremony.

Shapeshift. In the *Hinilawod:Humadapnon* epic, the main heroine Nagmalitong Yawa shapeshifts into a male warrior to rescue the hero Humadapnon inside a sealed cave. This is also a prevalent power in the Sugidanon epics. In the *Pahagunong* epic, the heroine Matan-ayon shapeshifts into a male warrior to fend off a celestial suitor. In the *Kalampay* epic, Matan-ayon, after her abduction by a diwata, shapeshifts into water every night to fend off her abductor's sexual advances.

Life Creation. In the *Hinilawod:Humadapnon*, Labing Anyag, who is credited to be the first babaylan, created the hero Dumalapdap out of Humadapnon's blood.

Resurrection. The goddess Laonsina of the Sugidanon epics is the primary proponent for this application of the pamlang. The first instance occurred in the *Sinagnayan* epic when she resurrected the hero Labaw Donggon after he was killed by his opponent, later revealed to be his brother, Sarandihon. The second occurrence was in the *Balanakon* epic when she resurrected the warrior Balanakon after he was killed by the same Sarandihon, who was later revealed to be his relative.²²

²¹ Ibid., 79.

²² Christian Talaguit, *The Concept of Death, Resurrection, and Afterlife in Panay Epic Tradition*, (Manila: De La Salle University, 2019), 26-29.

Tigadlum

The tigadlum is a talisman that renders its wielder invisible. Other than Panay, it is also attested in other Bisayan culture-based areas such as Mindoro,²³ Negros,²⁴ Samar, and Leyte.²⁵ The Panay variant of this anting-anting is described as a Y-shaped bone of a black cat that was killed during Holy Friday of Lent. The process of acquiring such powerful charm is done in the following manner: (1) kill and bury a black cat on a secluded spot on the high noon and must be careful not to be seen by anyone or the charm would be ineffective; (2) dig up the remains a year later on the same date and at the same time; (3) take the Y-shaped rib bone from the carcass and place it in his pocket. Upon the completion of such task a supernatural creature, presumably a diwata or engkanto, will whisper a spell that if the wielder remembers, can turn him invisible at will.²⁶

It is contestable if this charm is actually of ancient origin due to the importance of a domesticated cat, an animal introduced during the Spanish Conquest, in the ritual. Regardless, it is not entirely possible given that there are other species endemic in the islands that could have acted as a prototype source of the talisman, the civet cat. Alcina described the *singarong* or civet cat as more prominent in black pigment, although other colored such as white and mixed variants

²³ Masaru Miyamoto, *The Hanunoo-Mangyan: Society, Religion, and Law among a Mountain people of Mindoro Island, Philippines*, (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1988), 81.

²⁴ Jose Marie Pavon, *The Robertson translations of the Pavon manuscripts of 1838-1939*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957), 44-46.

²⁵ Richard Arens, *Folk Practices and Beliefs in Leyte and Samar*, 113-115

²⁶ F. Landa Jocano, *The epic of Labaw Donggon*, 40-41

exist. They are also described as being household pets, as long as they were raised in captivity, making them the perfect candidate for a prototype source of the tigadlum.²⁷

This anting-anting is primarily featured in the Epic of Labaw Donggon. Upon the defeat of Labaw Donggon in battle, Saragnayan placed a tigadlom on the hero's boat. Later on, upon the arrival of Aso Mangga and Baranugon, the sons of the hero, their far stronger tigadlom negates Saragnayan's tigadlom and renders the boat visible again.

Kiniray-a	English
Ginabalokat ni Buyung Baranugun Ang sakayan ka ginukdan Biday ka ginikanan Gintanoman daad si Saragnayan Ka tagadlom Gindamlan ka burirung Agod ugiway siklon. Iwa mana aban-awan Dawgan sa paranyakan Ni Datung Baranugun. ²⁸	Upon reaching ashore Buyung Baranugon untied the boat The vessel of their father, Saragnayan had planted Around it a charm of invisibility A thick cover of darkness So it could not be discovered. However it could not stand The power of Datu Baranugon's charms.

Turug-turug

Another prominent charm utilized in the epics is the turug-turug, a charm of sleep. The acquisition process of this charm is rather puzzling compared to the first two anting-antings since both the Labaw Donggon Epic, which features it as a plot device, and Jocano's ethnological

²⁷ This is but a speculation on the proponent's part. See Francisco Alcina, *History of the Bisayan people in the Philippine islands Vol. II*, (Manila: UST Pub House, 2002), 89-93.

²⁸ Ibid., 77-78.

study on the Panay-Bukidnon of Lambunao fails to make any mention of this detail although some answers can be delivered on why this is the case.

Within the context of the ELD, Baranugon easily defeats his opponent Saragnayan but is puzzled that the latter would not die; a problem faced by his father Labaw Donggon before him. Baranugon then sends forth his spirit companion Taghuy to his grandmother Alunsina to seek aid. The goddess then reveals that Saragnayan's *ginhawa*²⁹ was hidden inside the heart of a wild boar, and his only hope of defeating him is to first kill the boar. Alunsina gives Taghoy the charm, and the latter in turn sends it to Baranugon. The next set of events are as follows:

Kiniray-a	English
Pag-abut katung Taghuy Sinliay ni Baranugon Sinalud ka bukladon...	And when Taghuy returned Baranugon held his palms Open to receive the charm...
Makuumanya Si Buyung Baranugon “Panawun ku sa Paling Bukid Sa tirindak lamang aku maagi Sa kayab lang aku masapigod...”	And cheerfully said Buyung Baranugon “Now I’ll go to Paling Bukid Passing through the clouds Over the floating white...”
“Paripudan ku ka <i>lumay</i> Sab-ugan ku ka talabok Agod tana maturug Agod tana marupirok.”	“Now I’ll sow the charm Cast on him the poisoned dust So that it will sleep So deeply.”
Nagrupirok datung babuy Nagturug datung maula. ³⁰	And true indeed The wild boar suddenly slept.

²⁹ In Panay-Bukidnon thought, the *ginhawa* is a portion of the soul which enables movement to the body. See Corazon D. Villareal (trans), *Siday: Mga Tulang Bayan ng Panay at Negros*, (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1997), 37-38.

³⁰ F. Landa Jocano, *The epic of Labaw Donggon*, 89-90.

The passage reveals another interesting aspect of the turug-turug; it is referred to be a *lumay*, a talisman of love that is more familiar in the Luzon areas by the name of *gayuma*. The turug-turug thus holds two main functions: (1) a sleeping spell and (2) a love spell. The ELD unfortunately does not focus on the second function. According to Jocano, the lumay owned by the Panay-Bukidnon of Lambunao purchased their charms from their Agta neighbors.³¹ This somehow explains why this charm is not explained in detail compared to the other charms because the inhabitants of Lambunao may not even be aware of how it is made in the first place. The two ethnic groups may not have strained relations, as proven by their trading relations, however these two groups often avoid interacting with each other if given the chance.

Tiw-tiw

A charm prized by fishermen. It is similar to the pamlang in construction since it is made by a mixture of roots and coconut oil placed inside a small bottle. Splinters of wood or small stones from Churches are also placed, probably to increase its potency. When acquired by a fisherman, he no longer needs the conventional fishing gears such as nets. He simply needs to attach a frog or a lobster on a small stick and dip it in a body of water. A school of fish is expected to approach the fisherman willingly, which would allow him to strike them with a bolo and kill them.³²

Should a man's romantic advances be rejected by a woman he can utilize the tiw-tiw as a lumay, similar to the turug-turug. He must wait for a day after the rejection and follow her to the

³¹ Ibid., 41.

³² Eugenio Ealdama, "The Montes of Panay," *Philippine Magazine* January issue (1938): 107.

stream where she would be bathing. While holding the tiw-tiw on one hand, the man must look for a frog or insect and attach it to a branch. He would then dip the bait into the water and wait until the woman comes to him completely smitten in love.³³

Biridlan

A charm of surveillance briefly featured in the ELD. It is described by Jocano as a crystal ball which enables its wielder to see anyone whom he desires or at least how it was portrayed in the epic. Aso Mangga owned such an anting-anting which he used to locate his father on the rescue episode.

Kiniray-a	English
Sulalongon ni Asu Mangga Sa biridlan Sulawon sa paranyakan	Asu Mangga consulted The crystal ball Inquired into the charm
Nabulbulan don Si Labaw Donggon Sa idalom ka balunsan Ni Buyung Saragnayan. ³⁴	Hairy had become Labaw Donggon Below the kitchen Of Buyung Saragnayan.

Awog

A charm often placed on homes or cattle that alerts its wielder of thieves. The fear of thieves can be observed within the ELD as evidenced in the courting episodes when Labaw Donggon says the following:

³³ Ibid., 23.

³⁴ F. Landa Jocano, *The epic of Labaw Donggon*, 75.

Kiniray-a	English
Tagbalay sa nasulang bala Balay nga ginsakaan Warat lihi sa banwa Wara panihinon? Basi makibut kamu dawgan Malagontad, malagontad A langbon, makibut A lilingdon. ³⁵	O owner of the house Of this house I'm searching Tell me, is there no prohibition Is there no charm around the place? For you might be frightened Should I trespass your door Your household might be alarmed Should I dare enter the interior part.

Tibo-tibo

According to Lachica, this is an unspecified freshwater shell that grants its wielder invulnerability to fire. Oral account in the town of San Remegio narrates that a poor man accidentally discovered this charm upon opening a banana. The tibo-tibo is said to be a *bugay* or a gift from God due to the poor man's sterling character.³⁶

Daplak bird's egg

Similar to the tigadlom, this charm also grants its wielder the power of invisibility. The *daplak* is described to be brown in color which provides a natural camouflage when it stays on the ground.

³⁵ Ibid., 47.

³⁶ Ma. Milagros G. Lachica, "Tan Osting Baladjay: The Busalian," 30.

Lachica records a tale of a certain busalian named Amian Maulitin who one day found an egg charm in the middle of a river. Upon retrieving it, the man engraved a shallow wound on his arm and placed the egg inside, thus making it his body's anting-anting. It was not specified if this egg charm one and the same as the daplak egg or a different charm altogether.³⁷

Conclusion

The proponent believes that other peculiar anting-antings exist within the vicinity of the Panay island other than the three recurring and prominent ones within the epic traditions however due to the lack of ethnological studies nor the capability to conduct a fieldwork as of the moment, the proponent must abruptly end here. However, the question still remains: why are these charms prized in Panayanon folk tradition to the point that some are incorporated within the epics? The following answers are purely speculations based on the implications of the gathered sources and are open for correction and contention for future researchers.

The pamlang or lalanhan could possibly held in high regard in Panay though because it represents power and glory to the one who wields it. Such powerful anting-anting that could theoretically provide infinite boon to its wielder would have been a highly esteemed artefact for warriors and busalians. The oil within it supposedly can also provide physical protection to its wielder that could prove useful in a warring society such the Bisayan Islands.

As for the tigadlom and the daplak egg, the prominence of such charms may imply the abundance of thievery or banditry within Bisayan society. Indeed, Waray variants of the

³⁷ Ibid., 30-31.

tigadlom such as the *tanong anting-anting* and the *tindok* are prized by thieves since these can enable its wielder to enter homes without detection.³⁸ This is also evident by charms such as the *awog* which aims to detect such charm users.

As for the last charm *turug-turug* or *lumay*, the prominence of this *anting-anting* would undoubtedly tell us the importance of erotic love to the inhabitants of Panay. The *lumay* acts as a shortcut of sorts that enables a man to woo a woman without the intricate rituals that is conducted in contemporary times today. The Waray thought on the *lumay* presents an interesting idea although it is unsure if this is also held in Panay. According to the former, the effects of the *lumay* is not permanent, meaning that even if the *lumay* acts as a catalyst for romance, the perseverance of the love between the two will be challenged as the effects wears off. It is often related within the areas of Leyte and Samar that love founded only from the *lumay*, without the development of true mutual understanding between the two parties, would eventually fail in the long run.³⁹

As absurd as this may sound, the *anting-anting* is the “technology” of the ancient and some contemporary Filipinos due to the fact that these objects, at least in theory, can make their everyday life easier. Although with the slow penetration of modernization to the provinces, only time will tell if these ancient technologies survive for generations to come, although the proponent has high hopes it may still be at least for a few more decades given that a small percentage of inhabitants of Manila who are exposed to modern technology still hold belief in the effectiveness of love charms.

³⁸ Richard Arens, *Folk Practices and Beliefs of Leyte and Samar*, 114-115.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 116-117.

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